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ANGELA DAVIS, A BLACK WOMAN IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

PART II OF A CONVERSATION WITH ANGELA DAVIS

SEE SUPPLEMENT INSIDE



Nat Turner

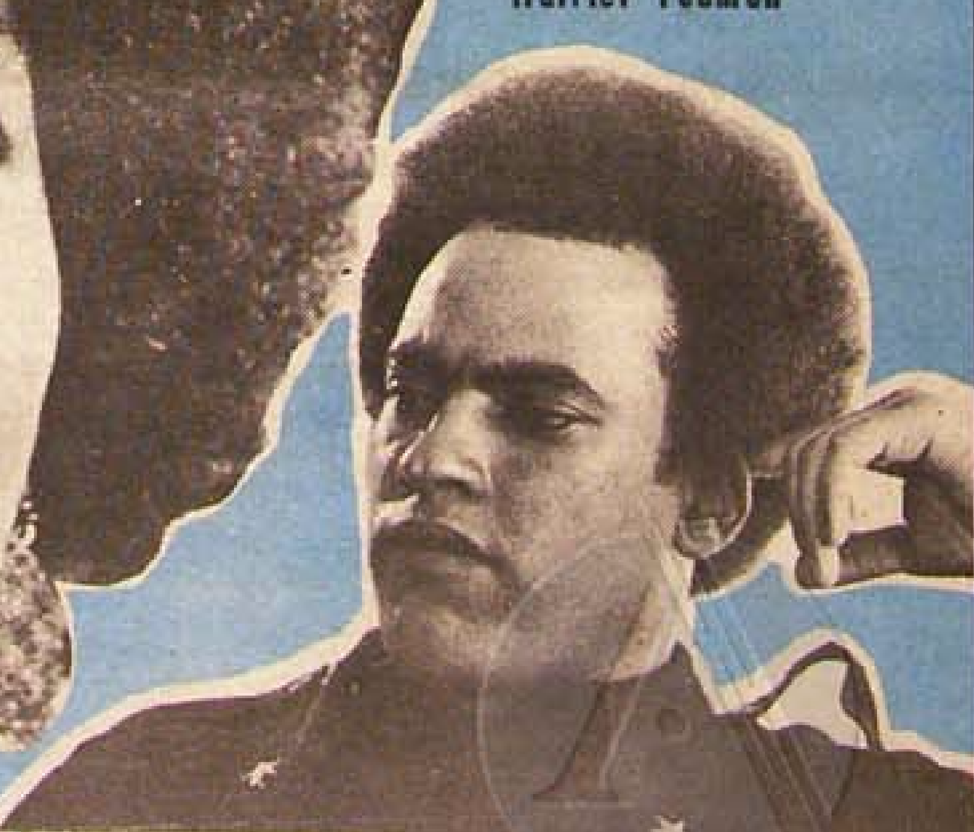


Harriet Tubman





Ericka Huggins, Black Panther Party



Huey P. Newton, Servant of the People, Leader of the Black Panther Party

HARLEM FOUR'S LIVES STILL PENDING

ATTORNEY CONRAD LYNN DESCRIBES LEGAL TRICKS USED TO ILLEGALLY HOLD BROTHERS FOR 8 YEARS.



The mothers of the Harlem Four have struggled for eight long years to secure their sons' releases from prison. The decision from the March 8th hearing will reveal whether or not they will have to wait longer.

Refusing to stand by and watch the intended massacre of innocent Black youths take place, on April 17, 1964, six young Black men (Walter Thomas, Wallace Baker, Daniel Hamm, Robert Rice, William Craig and Ronald Felder) stood between one hundred school children and hundreds of armed police in Harlem, New York. This incident, which became known as the "Little Fruit Stand Riot", started when some of a group of children on their way home from school knocked over a racist's fruit stand in passing. The racist naturally called the police, who quickly arrived on the scene, armed with their over-kill weapons. Because they stood in defense of the children, these six brothers were themselves brutally beaten, and subsequently singled out for intensive daily harassment by the pigs. A few short weeks later, a white second-hand clothier, a Mrs. Margaret Sugar, was killed. Because of this, the local power structure saw its opportunity to really punish the brothers for their "impudent" act of defending the victimized, and possibly dispel any such thoughts of further defiance from recurring. Although the death of Mrs. Sugar had nothing at all to do with the so-called "Little Fruit Stand Riot", the reactionary news media quickly tied in these two separate incidents, creating a typical frenzied atmosphere, saying that "Black cop killers" had struck another victim. The six brothers were immediately arrested and indicted for murder. After a speedy trial, the brothers received a hung jury. (Eventually Robert Rice and Daniel Hamm were severed from the case.) By the time of the third hung jury (in January of this year), the remaining defendants had come to be known as the Harlem Four.

The Harlem Four suffered brutal beatings by the pigs, and endured a vicious propaganda campaign by the press, designed for character assassination, which even confused and divided the Harlem Black community. With all of this, hardly anyone in the legal field came forward to handle their defense. The local power structure and the District Attorney's office had taken full advantage of the circumstances, carefully selecting court appointed attorneys to help railroad the brothers to prison. When the question arose as to the Harlem Four's right to legal counsel of their own choosing, fascist Judge Culkin had the audacity to remark, "These boys wouldn't know a good lawyer from a watermelon."

Sometime after their arrest, someone recommended an attorney to the six defendants' mothers, who had been frantically working to secure funds and attorneys for their sons' defense. His name was Conrad Lynn. They went to see Brother Lynn. Without hesitation, he took the case. He was unaffected by the vicious, race-baiting and slanderous propaganda the press had stirred up. He stepped into the case ready to fight. A long time Civil Rights Attorney, Lynn also persuaded three other attorneys (Edward Leopold, Lewis Steel and William Kunstler, who had defended Reverend Martin Luther King) to enter the case.

As the lone Black attorney in the case, Brother Lynn had to also fight against the racism that the court displayed toward him, as well as his clients. Whenever the attorneys attempted to visit their clients, they were all naturally harassed and had to constantly endure visiting delays. However, on one occasion, when Brother Lynn went to see his client, William Craig, at the Manhattan Men's House of Detention, the racist police there would not even accept or acknowledge his credentials as a licensed attorney. His wife and his co-counsel had to come to the jail and vouch for him before he was allowed to visit.

Now, after eight years, three trials and three hung juries, a

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A "GOOD SAMARITAN" IS BAD FOR BUSINESS

BLACK BUSINESSWOMAN UNDER FIRE FOR HELPING FELLOW VICTIMS

In the oppressed Black community of Baltimore, Maryland, the blatant refusal of the administrators and corrupt agents of this city and state to show concern for the survival of Black people is a common spectacle which is tied up inextricably with and certainly does not fall short of the oppression suffered throughout America. The disregard for the laws and agreements that the Baltimore power structure itself has enacted, to protect itself from the people and to deepen our misery, has continued rampantly unchecked. Sister Dorothv L. Peroti, of 217 East North Avenue, is another unwilling victim of Maryland's particular repression.

Mrs. Peroti, who is a self-employed businesswoman, operating a small variety store right in her place of residence, is one woman who realizes that some of us are more victimized by this system than others. Even though Mrs. Peroti has been able to provide some of the basic necessities she and her family need to survive, she has not been neglectful of those who have been totally displaced by technology, who have been locked outside the economic domain of this system and have no adequate means by which they can survive. Mrs. Peroti has opened the meager facilities of her home and business to the unemployable Brothers and Sisters on the streets of Baltimore, whom the fascists have left there to virtually die and starve to death in the gutters and alley-ways.

Countless times, Sister Peroti has demonstrated an unselfish love for her people, providing them with food and shelter whenever she could. Due to her awareness of the many forms of the violence perpetrated against Black and poor people, and because she will not adhere to the selfish ideas of corporate business, she has experienced six years of brazen intimidation, harassment and brutality at the hands of racists.

On January 11, 1972, for example, Sister Peroti was at her home and business. A little white girl, who had been sent home sick by school officials, found that she couldn't get into her own home. No one was at home. She went to Mrs. Peroti's, where she knew, as did everyone, she could receive help. While there, she began feeling worse, and asked Mrs. Peroti to take her to the hospital. Not being able to leave, Mrs. Peroti called the Baltimore Police Department for assistance. Two of these fascists eventually arrived and



SISTER DOROTHY PEROTI has been falsely charged with arson, brutally beaten and robbed by Baltimore racists because she opened her home and business to anyone in need.

refused to take the child to the hospital. Instead, these fascists told Mrs. Peroti, "Take the child yourself", which she was unable to do. When she explained this to them again, and asked them to do it (as it is one of their responsibilities to do so, as "public servants"), Mrs. Peroti was surprised to find them respond to her by arresting her and booking her on the absurdly strange charge of "directing traffic". She, in fact, had to go to court on this preposterous charge, and ended up having to pay a $25.00 fine.

Mrs. Peroti tried to live with this horrible chain of events, but found that she soon had to appear in court on another absurd charge. She had been instructed by her attorney not to say anything at all in response to the "directing traffic" charges, since none of it had made any sense at all. When she had appeared in court, the Judge, Mclean, ordered her to leave the court, because she was refusing to speak. When she complied with his order and left the courtroom, the judge then issued a bench warrant for her arrest, which was quickly carried out in the halls of the court building. Several, husky, fascist police, who had been stationed out in the hall, quickly converged on Mrs. Peroti and brutally beat her. After she was literally dragged back into the courtroom, the judge fined her another $100.00. As a result of this beating, Mrs. Peroti required medical treatment at Union Memorial Hospital, causing another drain on her dwindling funds, which she has been so willing to share with others. The fascists of the Baltimore judicial system and the reactionary business association, which has long been harassing Mrs. Peroti, are well aware of the insult and injury she has suffered at their hands, in her simple attempts to survive and help others survive.

The incidents recounted here are only a minute record of the atrocities committed against Sister Peroti by Baltimore racists and fascists. She has also been, at various times, falsely charged with arson, refused medical care in jail, and even robbed by police-paid hirelings. The power structure is determined to snatch all means of survival that Mrs. Peroti has so far obtained and shared with anyone in need. As Mrs. Peroti says, if she has committed any crime at all, "it's waiting on my customers".

More than six years of undue persecution and close to $10,000 in medical and legal fees have been Mrs. Peroti's reward for trying to exist in a brigandish system that only intends to further humiliate and exploit her. Every "business law" has been twisted, every harassment tactic imaginable employed to deny her the right to survive as she chooses. And now, the racist Baltimore business association is attempting to close her store, because she "houses and feeds loafers and winos". Sister Peroti has not given in, refuses to give in. She will not suffer quietly. She says, "If the laws don't protect, if the police won't respect, then there must be some changes!"

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BADDEST GUNS IN BALTIMORE

STATE MOVES TO DISARM EVERYONE BUT THE PIGS.



Pig guns aren't the baddest guns, even when the State of Maryland tries to make theirs the only guns, through new gun-control laws:"When the people are ready to pick up the gun, serious business will happen."

In Baltimore, as in any other metropolitan area, many Blacks are forced to use methods to survive which the reactionary system defines as illegal. The causes, such as the wretched living conditions, lack of food, negligent medical care (if any is given at all) are never mentioned. Instead, we are constantly deluged with statements and warped statistics such as "Blacks commit the most crimes," and "Blacks have most of the illegal guns," lies which are even echoed by some misguided elements in the Black community.

Recently, the fascist Maryland hierarchy decided something had to be done about the "slaughter" in the streets. It had to be stopped. (It was naturally never mentioned that the Baltimore police department is responsible for most of the slaughtering.) The alleged deterrent that the fascists have come up with is a gun control bill, proposed by racist Maryland Governor Marvin Mandel. The bill would prohibit the carrying or transporting of handguns by anyone, except by persons licensed by the state police. However, under this new bill, gun permits would not be necessary in order to have a handgun in your business or home, or if you have a "sporting" use for such weapons. Of course, it's obvious that members of an oppressed community like the Baltimore Black community won't be issued too many permits, and that the racists ("sportsmen", capitalist businessmen, etc.) won't need one.

Primarily, the bill provides for gun control through the extensive use of the "stop and frisk" procedure, which has historically been used by the fascists almost exclusively in the Black community. The bill really boils down to just another measure on the part of the State to control Black people. In view of the racist intentions of the bill, some state representatives have suggested just applying the bill to Baltimore (where the majority of Maryland's Black population is concentrated), instead of to the entire state, which would exempt the rural and nearby lily-white areas, entirely. In other words, this bill would make the policeman's arbitrary decision to "stop and frisk" a suspected gun-toter a matter of law. Little difference does that really make, for in the past when such procedures were not legal, the police have not been too concerned about law, a fact to which the many brutal murders and beatings of Black people in Baltimore by these fascists attest.

Large segments of the Black community have vigorously denounced the anti-Black, gun control bill. On January 20, 1972, at the Calvert Educational Center, members of the Black community gathered to address themselves to the impending increase in repression and harassment. The meeting was called by the community and attended by many of the state's Black representatives. Among those present were Maryland State Senators Clarence M. Mitchell and Clarence W. Blount, Maryland House of Delegates Member Kenny Webster, and Baltimore State's Attorney Milton B.

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A BLOOD-STAINED BANNER IN "NEW VIRGINNY"

In Danville, Virginia, fine, Southern white Virginia gentlemen are generally never so crude or crass as to indulge in personally dirtying themselves with a "nigger's" blood. They don't have to. As any Virginia racist will tell you, they have the police to carry out their murderous schemes, acting in the desired manner.

On Saturday night, February 12th, a 53-year old Black father returned to his home on Lovelace Drive (in Danville, Virginia), to be severely and brutally beaten by police before he even got to the door. This surprise raid came upon Brother Hurley Fitzgerald as the result of a racist's report to his police protectors that the Brother had hit his car a few minutes before. While sitting in the patrol car, attempting to tell the truth, that white racist Jesse Wyatt had illegally passed him, causing the sides of both cars to scrape, Brother Fitzgerald was knocked unconscious with a nightstick by one of the three policemen present.

He was then pulled out of the car and beaten unmercifully by all three policemen, until he was covered with blood. He was arrested and taken to



the hospital, where a fourth officer joined the assault upon Mr. Fitzgerald, saying, "You're the one who has been fighting policemen, ain't you?" Later, he was thrown into a jail cell and charged with "assault" upon Danville Police Officers Snow and Brooks, "drunken driving" and "failure to report an accident". He was released on bond that night.

Four days later, the same racist, Jesse Wyatt, swore out a false warrant against Mr. Fitzgerald, charging that Brother Fitzgerald had threatened him with a knife and hit him in the mouth with his fist. These later charges were made by Wyatt in conjunction with a promise to Danville police that he would help them cover up the policemen's brutal attack on Brother Fitzgerald, four days before, and to invalidate the protesting against this blatant case of police brutality by Lovelace Drive Community members, who had witnessed the beating.

The Black Community of Danville, Virginia is rallying to Brother Fitzgerald's defense. They are demanding that Snow and Brooks, the two known assailants, be fired. Plans have been made to sue those same officers.

We must unite with Brother Fitzgerald and the Lovelace Drive community of Danville, for together we can not only prevent the "legal lynching" that's in store for him when he appears in court on March 17th, but we will be saving ourselves.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

DAVID INDICTED AGAIN!

DAVID HILLIARD FACES FEDERAL CHARGES OVER $150.

On March 2, 1972, the U.S. government and its federal agents revealed another phase of the ruling circle's plan to keep David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, in prison for the rest of his life. The last occasion involving the Federal government was the false charge leveled against David Hilliard for threatening the life of U.S. president Richard Nixon (in 1969). When these blatantly false charges were shown to be too flimsy for use in their preplanned railroad, they were dropped.

On March 2nd (of this year), the Federal government handed down a three-count indictment, charging David with perjury, or "giving false information under oath" in a court of law. The charges stem from a hearing that was held in January, 1971, which was to determine whether or not David was entitled to the rights allegedly granted poor and oppressed people by the U.S. Constitution.



According to federal law, a poor person on trial must be provided by the government a legal counsel of his choice, investigators, expert witnesses, trial transcripts, and anything else essential to that person's legal defense. In order to secure these rights, the State holds a hearing to determine whether or not a person is "eligible", or sufficiently poor enough to be unable to pay such expenses.

When David Hilliard went through these particular proceedings, in 1971, fascist prosecutors and the judges tried to infer that David would be able to get the money from the Black Panther Party, particularly to pay for his trial transcripts. David explained there that all monies for speeches, etc. that came to him directly, in fact, were turned over to the Party and were not for his personal use. At that time, therefore, the fascists generously allowed him $150. for the cost of one set of court transcripts.

The federal fascists have suddenly decided, over one year later, and after the case itself has been dismissed, that David accepted such "aid", when in fact he had access to Party funds and could have paid the $150. for the transcripts. They know (as David told them) that all funds from speeches, etc. go to the Party Survival Programs for the people, and not to individual Party members. However, they are claiming that such is not the case, that David lied to them.

Again David Hilliard must face a court on false charges: and, again he is the target of the State, as they employ another tactic, another device to insure that he never gets out of their prisons.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ANGELA DAVIS, A BLACK WOMAN IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

PART II
OF A CONVERSATION WITH ANGELA DAVIS

This is a continuation of a taped conversation with Angela Davis, on February 25th, 1972, two days after her release on bond. Here, she discusses with Elaine Brown, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, the issue of women's liberation:



"First of all, I would draw a distinction between women's liberation in a general sense and the particular Women's Liberation Movement which we see today in this country. Women's liberation is an extremely important element of the broader revolutionary struggle."

ELAINE: Let us move on, now, to another idea. Of course, the struggle in this country that has become known as the Women's Liberation Movement was in existence prior to your incarceration. I would say, however, that during those 16 months that you've been in jail, that the Women's Liberation Movement has, in fact, gained some momentum, and certainly much more notice from the press, and is more in the public eye. Naturally, because you are a well-known person, because you are involved in the struggle of oppressed people to be liberated, because you are an active participant in that struggle, and because you are a woman, a lot of people want to know your opinions about the Women's Liberation Movement, or let's say your opinions on the relations of women, especially Black women, to the entire society, in terms of their function in the society, to production, whatever. Perhaps, you could elaborate on your thoughts on the whole concept of the Women's Liberation Movement and what you feel about that Movement in relation to Black women, what you feel about the whole question of women in the struggle, those kinds of things.

ANGELA: The Women's Liberation Movement raises some interesting and important questions. During the last few months, I have been trying to come to grips with issues surrounding the Women's Liberation Movement in this country. First of all, I would draw a distinction between women's liberation in a general sense and the particular Women's Liberation Movement which we see today in this country. Women's liberation is an extremely important element of the broader revolutionary struggle. However, I think that the way in which women's liberation has been projected in this country has tended to distort the real relationship of women's liberation to the liberation of all exploited and oppressed people. Earlier, we were talking about the way different areas of struggle in the Movement are isolated. The Women's Liberation Movement is beset with the same kinds of problems. Often, it tends to pose women's liberation in isolation from the Black and Brown liberation struggles and the struggle of working people in general.

I can start by making a few comments on what I feel is the predominant tendency in the Women's Liberation Movement today. (And, this isn't to say that there aren't groups of women who are moving in what I would consider a correct political direction.) The Women's Liberation Movement is almost exclusively white. Its predominant ideological direction is based on the notion that women are oppressed by men. This, I think, is the basic fallacy of the Women's Liberation Movement in this country. They see the struggle as being one between males and females. Consequently, the fact that women's oppression today originates from the capitalist system is frequently lost from view.

Not long ago, I was reading a collection of essays from the Women's Liberation Movement. The preface to that book contends that the most significant contribution of the Women's Liberation Movement to the revolutionary movement has been to recognize that the oppression that all people experience is ultimately reducible to the oppression of women by men. Therefore, they say, when you talk about racism, imperialist wars and capitalist exploitation, you are talking in the final analysis about male supremacy.

Perhaps, we can attempt to explain why the women's movement has emerged in this way. All of us know that women have been excluded from participating in the activities which are necessary for the maintenance of this society - the labor process, political rule, etc. Women have been excluded not only from all these fields, but also from the movement which is challenging the political and economic arrangements in this

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"I think the historical conditions of Black people have given rise to a different set of relations between men and women, if you compare this with the corresponding relations among white people."

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country. I would think that in many cases when women - particularly white women - became aware of the existence of male supremacy - when they begin to see that the inferiority imposed upon women is ideological and does not reflect any kind of innate inferiority, this is the first time that many of them have a conscious and immediate experience of oppression. This is something they can relate to directly; something, they can see and feel. The problem is that in many cases they do not relate the oppression they experience as women to other modes of oppression. Often they do not evaluate the oppression of women within the context of an immense system of oppression. Instead, they frequently say that women's oppression has existed throughout human history - for thousands and thousands of years. Then they incorrectly infer that the present oppression of women is unrelated to capitalism. Rather it is supposed to be a product of men's attitudes toward women and women's acceptance of male authority. Therefore much of the thrust of the women's movement has psychological contours. It calls upon individuals to change without recognizing that individuals cannot be fully transformed until the system which perpetuates the oppression of women is overturned and transformed.

The oppression of women is structurally built in to present day capitalism. It aids capitalism to maintain itself. Women cannot be fully liberated unless/until all oppressed people are liberated from capitalism. If this is not acknowledged, the women's movement will remain largely irrelevant to the broader revolutionary struggle. Most important, perhaps, it will remain irrelevant to the needs of Black women, Chicano women, Puerto Rican women, Native American women and all women of color...

ELAINE: And even poor white women...

ANGELA: Yes, and poor white women, certainly. Black women and other oppressed women, women of color, poor, working-class white women are becoming increasingly conscious of the tremendous social problems in America today. They are becoming increasingly aware that racism, economic deprivation, wars of aggression are problems which demand radical solutions. At the same time, they realize that they are also oppressed as women. Women of color and working-class women are therefore in the best position to see all these forms of oppression as intertwined.

Having voiced my objections and criticisms of the predominant directions of the Women's Liberation Movement, I should point out that there are an increasing number of groups of women of color: there is, for instance, the Third World Women's Alliance in New York; there are Black women who are getting together all over the country. I've received letters from many, young Black sisters - of high school age, sometimes even of junior high school age - who have written me about their efforts to form women's groups to struggle around issues that involve women. These very same kinds of issues can also point up the fact of racism, point up the fact of economic exploitation, so that you have the whole problem of women's oppression placed within the context of a broader struggle. In this way, it is not isolated as a problem of women vs. men.

Men are also affected by male supremacy; men are also oppressed by male supremacy, in the same sense that not all white people benefit from racism. They are victims of a racist social arrangement themselves, because it gives the ruling class the leverage to further oppress them. In the same way, male supremacy has given the ruling class the leverage not only to oppress women, but also to further oppress men.

I think this is very clear when you talk about Black men and Black women. We have a very special problem to deal with, because the official ideology in this country tries to convince us that Black women are inveterate matriarchs, and that Black women are always trying to seize the reins, or whatever power we can achieve, from Black men. Moynihan (former Presidential advisor Daniel Moynihan), of course, was the one who articulated this for Washington, D.C., and for the whole government administration. That has confused a lot of Black people; it has confused a lot of Black men; and has also confused a lot of Black women. I think the historical conditions of Black people

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"Women cannot be fully liberated unless/until all oppressed people are liberated from capitalism...Women of color and working-class women are therefore in the best position to see all these forms of oppression as intertwined."

ANGELA DAVIS, A BLACK WOMAN IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

PART II

OF A CONVERSATION WITH ANGELA DAVIS

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have given rise to a different set of relations between men and women, if you compare this with the corresponding relations among white people.

White men have generally been led to see their wives as toys - not as creative, productive human beings. White women have been largely excluded, until recently, from the labor force. Black women, on the other hand - and this dates all the way back to slavery - have been forced to go outside the home, to leave the domestic arrangement and work for the survival of our families and our communities. The difference, I think between the situation of white women and the situation of Black women in this country today is that there is a greater degree of equality as between Black men and Black women. Actually, this is a caricature of equality, because it's an equality which emerged historically as a result of the equal oppression of Black men and women. Dating back to slavery, Black women have always been economically oppressed, in the sense of having to go out and work just as hard and just as long and just as intensely as Black men.

ELAINE: Then, one reason why the Women's Liberation Movement has developed into a sort of "middle-class, white women's thing", so to speak, is that, as you've said, the white woman has been, all along, the toy of the white man; she has been objectified by him, just become, maybe, an art object or something, and not much more than that. More importantly, she has had no relation to the production in the society; she has not been a laborer at all. In fact, when one considers the function of a human being in a social system - up until some point at which technology may change all of that - the very question of people in relation to the society as a whole, the individual relation to society as a whole, is measured by their productive output. In other words, you produce for your needs, or the society's needs, of course, depending upon the governing power's distribution method. What you will receive will depend on that distribution method. (If you live in China, then, of course, you will receive distribution according to a fundamentally socialist economic system; whereas, of course, in a capitalist society, or in the United States, an imperialist society, according to the needs of the ruling circle or the bourgeoisie.) However, the white woman, in this society, has actually nothing to do with any of it. In other words, she has a somewhat vicarious relation to the society in general. So, I think that when a sort of trend became evident in this society, for example, as Black people vanguarded a strike for recognizing our humanity, saying we are human beings, we're Black and beautiful, in those terms, then, of course, there was Brown and beautiful, and red and beautiful...

ANGELA: Let me just say one thing, Elaine, about the white woman's relationship to labor. Actually, it is not entirely true that white women have had no relationship to the process of production. It is true, of course, that white women have been largely isolated in the domestic realm. As a rule, they have not gone out to face the brutal realities of capitalist competition. However, depending on what the economic needs of the ruling class are, women will and have been brought into the labor force. They have been used also in order to break the ability of the labor movement to challenge the capitalist class; that is to say, women have been used as strikebreakers and scabs...

ELAINE: But, not this particular group of women that has evolved into the Women's Liberation Movement. That's why I was thinking more of the "middle class" woman, that particular woman has been isolated to the greater extent; and that is why I think this particular movement has moved the way it has, because of the sudden surge in the need of everyone to feel his or her humanity, and the sudden realization on the part of that group of people, the white woman who has been the "homemaker", to feel her humanity. There isn't anything else for her to understand, because she has no relation to the economy other than through her husband, or through her man, or however she wants to phrase that. It is not sufficient, even for this white, "middle class" woman. As Black people began our new thrust with Black and beautiful, as an expression of realizing our humanity, and then Brown is

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beautiful, and so on, we've come to another stage. I think that can be acceptably stated at this point, that we have reached another level in our growth, in our development as a part of oppressed people. We have come to realize, of course, that the answer is not just to say that I'm Black and beautiful. This does not mean that I, in any way, believe that the Women's Liberation Movement will eventually grow and develop, as the "Black Power Movement" grew and developed, because Black people exist under economic oppression, as well as racist oppression, intermingled. Whereas the white woman involved, generally speaking, in the Women's Liberation Movement has had no concept of how the society functions or any concept of her relationship to anything other than the man that goes out and performs the tasks within the society. In fact, she has been somewhat outside of the society. Therefore, I don't necessarily believe, I can't see that it has developed to any degree, that the Women's Liberation Movement will progress, from its present direction, and place the liberation of women in proper perspective, as did the "Black Power Movement"; for we have experienced our growth due to the very nature of our class position, our oppressed economic condition in the society, which is not rooted in, as you say, an ideological or cultural base.

ANGELA: The problem with the predominant tendencies of the Women's Liberation Movement, as you say, is that the class content is completely lacking. What we are calling the middle class white Women's Liberation Movement has really obscured the whole nature of women's oppression, because the basic characteristic of women's oppression is not the fact that women have been petted and have been set up on a pedastal. Perhaps, this is the form of oppression that the bourgeoisie woman has experienced, but it is a subsidiary form of oppression. This is one of the contradictions within the ruling class. When you move from the bourgeoisie, per se, down from the ruling class, through the middle classes, down to the working classes, then the whole spectrum becomes a completely different thing. This stems from the fact that working-class women have been oppressed in the sense that they have been overwhelmingly excluded from the equal participation in the productive apparatus. This has occurred precisely at a time when capitalism has advanced to the point where women can make practically any contribution to production that a man could make...

ELAINE: For example, during the Second World War...

ANGELA: I think we should distinguish between the ideological projection of that oppression and the material basis for it. The material basis has to do with the relationship or the non-relationship of the women to production. The ideological, cultural aspect has to do with many other things, the fact that women are considered innately inferior, etc. This has been necessary in order to sustain an oppressive set of economic and political circumstances. That family that we're talking about, the family in which the woman is contained (the white woman who is potentially a white woman worker) also serves to isolate her man from the workir class movement. Capitalism needs family which, because of the emotion l satisfaction it offers, cushions and mitigates the oppression which unfolds outside the home. It needs a family togetherness which acts as a replacement for solidarity through struggle. Whereas family togetherness should promote and complement the togetherness of struggle, the family which prevails under capitalism often tends to isolate both men and women from struggle. Women, of course, are the very anchor of family life. This is one reason why the capitalist system thrives on the oppression of women.

It's a very, very complex problem, which the Women's Liberation Movement, in my opinion, has not adequately dealt with. I think that there is, there exists a tremendous revolutionary potential among women - particularly women of color and working women. But this potential is by no means realized by the present Women's Liberation Movement in this country.

ELAINE: I want to talk about Black women and men, and throw this out to you. Ericka and I, for example, have talked a great deal about a particular aspect of Black women's lives. We were talking about the relationship between the Black man and the Black woman. Let me say that usually things are categorized in such a way that the white man is at the top of some spectrum, followed by the white woman, the Black man and the Black woman, in some sort of chain of command. From this, a kind of equation is drawn, the white man in relationship to the white woman as the Black man is in relationship to the Black woman, although at some other level. That has been the general situation that many have accepted, based on the Women's Liberation Movement concepts; that is, that if the white woman is oppressed by the white man, then the Black woman is at the bottom level of oppression, under the Black man. This often causes the tendency among many to believe that together Black women and white women can struggle against the common male oppressor. The situations are certainly distinct, in the case of the relationship between the Black woman and Black man and the white woman and white man. As you know, George talked a great deal about the "sense of community" and the building of that sense of community, because of the fact that Black people in this country have been alienated from the society and from any sense of nationhood or community, because of the transplant, the historic transplant, and because we have no real national culture or land roots to which we can even direct or focus our attention, from the past. During the Institution, as it is called, the "peculiar" institution of chattel slavery, although both suffered certainly greatly, and the Black woman suffered as greatly, shall we say, as the Black man, I would say that there was fairly equal treatment, except in one sense. As everyone knows the Black woman was the breeder of many different men's babies. Although this was a horrible experience which has still not been erased from our people in the sense that the pain and all the suffering is still there, there was still the woman's experience (from which many people falsely draw the term, matriarchy). There was still a sense of community simply because the woman had the children to take care of and there was that feeling that they were her children and there was a sense of guiding them, of giving them some information (or what you call an education as to how to make it through their lives - which is all education is, it's just passed-on information about how to survive, how to live). On the other hand, the Black man, generally, during the peculiar institution (the chattel slavery period) was shifted from pillar to post, from bed to bed, from slave hut to slave hut, with no real connection, no real roots (even though we know there were marriages and that some sort of a sub, sub-culture existed. It was so limited, however, that it was practically non-existent, particularly in relation to the dominant culture which was all that was left under the circumstances, after the forced transplant.) The Black man was removed from even that, simply because he was the one giving the children and moving from place to place. He never really knew or had any real attachment to any of those children or any of those women or really anything that could be called his, at all. I don't know...We thought about this idea and felt that's something that hasn't been brought out enough.

However, there's this thought to keep in mind, in light of what I've just said. In the beginning of the so-called Black Power Movement, there was a large thrust on the part of the Black man to make some impassioned plea about how the Black woman had stripped him of his "manhood", and how it is her fault that he found himself so lacking in dignity. These men concluded, therefore, that if you walk 10 paces behind them and speak quietly and don't let them know that you can read and write, you will be restoring what you have taken away - his "manhood". Let us translate this desparate yearning, however absurdly translated during that period. For, there is a question not of manhood so much as there is of a human being's right to something as intangible as dignity. I think that the Black man was stripped of all dignity, and, in that sense possibly suffered more than the woman. The point is essentially that our situation, as Blacks, cannot directly relate to the predicament in which the white woman has discovered herself.

ANGELA: It is true that because of the historical evolution of our oppression in this country, Black people have gained a sense of community and a sense of togetherness that cannot be found among white people. This, I think, is illustrated by the fact that we have been calling each other "brother" and "sister" for a long time, not just in the Movement, but on the streets, in church...There is a real sense of the manner in which our oppression has bound us all together.

During slavery, the Black man was practically rootless and often didn't know who his children were, or if he knew, was not *allowed to develop* what would be considered a family life according to the standards of the society as a whole. However, this is also true of Black women; for, while they were forced to play the role of breeders, mothers were also separated from their children. Once they created the product that the white slavemaster was going to use in order to reap more profit, they no longer had the right to relate to this product as a son or daughter. While the woman was almost inevitably the center of the domestic environment, it was often not the woman who was the mother of the children who were around her. Sometimes it may have been an aunt, a grandmother. Sometimes it may have just been a Black woman who had been sold away from her children or had her children sold away from her. Because of the fact that women are always expected to take care of the children and to clean the house and, cook food, she was the natural center of the only kind of community that Black people could forge.

ELAINE: But, do you think that in that case, even in the case of an aunt, or let's say, someone completely removed from the children she was raising, that the very fact of

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taking care of those children rooted her to something to which the man was never rooted? Of course, we know that it was not done as a favor to women; we recognize why it was done. We recognize that it was only "natural" that the woman was the one to do such things, because she is "supposed" to; a man doesn't do these kinds of things. Somebody could say, therefore, that the woman must have had a "softer" job, which is, of course, absurd.

ANGELA: Yes, because that very same woman was also out in the fields, even when she had to carry her babies with her. I recently wrote a paper about Black women during slavery. In my research, I encountered incredible descriptions of the sufferings that Black women had to bear. For instance, there are the many Black women who, despite the fact that they were breast-feeding their infants would have to work in the fields toiling just as hard and doing the same kind of work that men were doing. When they weren't able to work at the same pace as the men, the slave-driver whipped them unmercifully.

ELAINE: Was this from "Life Under the Peculiar Institution"?

ANGELA: It came from E. Franklin Frazier's book on the Black Family. Incidentally, I would not recommend the book for its analytic perspective, but there are, in that work, some revealing excerpts from a slave narrative. One slave, for example, describes the Black woman who is not able to keep up with the work that everyone else is doing, because of the pain resulting from her breast filling up with milk. He describes the overseer whipping her, the milk and the blood flying out, intermingled. Then there was another brutal image evoked by this same slave. When a pregnant slave woman couldn't keep



"...Its predominant ideological direction is based on the notion that women are oppressed by men. This, I think, is the basic fallacy of the Women's Liberation Movement in this country."

up, a hole was carved in the ground so she could lie flat, her stomach in the hole. In this humiliating posture, she would be flogged. The suffering that the Black woman experienced during slavery is incalculable, it transcends all limits of the imagination.

Then, there was the other side of the oppression that Black women experienced: this had to do with the sexual oppression they experienced at the hands of white men. Black women didn't breed with white men as the fathers of their children because they wanted to; they were forced to do this. Rape was an institutionalized feature of the slave community. In this light, I do not think that we can talk about degrees of oppression. It all was so incredibly ruthless.

ELAINE: What I was trying to get to, more, was the idea that there was more equal, as you've expressed, suffering under the period of chattel slavery, which has to have strongly influenced our relations today, after chattel slavery. By discussing the role of the Black men, it was intended that we might understand, correct the too-often-spoken of fallacy that the Black woman was the root of the Black man's oppression, resulting in the present, worn-out notion of a Black matriarchy, and accounting for the Black man's sense of loss, of disassociation. On the other hand, this was brought out to dispute the divisive theory that the Black woman suffered some kind of double or worse form of oppression, in relation to the Black man. The point, I believe, is clear: relatively equal suffering, oppression. We can assume, logically, that this long era has greatly influenced our relations today and should produce a strong and necessary unity of Black men and women that negates the images of the presently dominant white Women's Liberation Movement, and is the necessary combination for all our liberation...Perhaps you would speak more on the present situation.

ANGELA: Let me make a few brief remarks. I think it is important to understand what our present situation, as Black women, is all about. During slavery, a very close community among Black people emerged, a counter-community, a community of resistance. The reason this community of resistance was able to emerge is precisely because Black women were able to contribute to all forms of resistance and to stand next to Black men and fight along with Black men. This has to do with the role the Black man played in the community, and the kind of central role that Black women played, as you were describing it. The domestic environment which was needed for the survival of Black People, elevated her to the level where she could fight alongside Black men in resisting slavery. There hasn't been that much research done in this direction, but I've discovered irrefutable indications that Black women played an enormous role in the slave revolts. However, we know far less about Black slave women who resisted slavery than we know about Black men. Outside of Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, virtually nothing has been written about the contributions of Black women. Yet, Black women did resist and historically there has been a greater degree of equality between Black women and Black men. If we look at, say, the civil rights struggle and look at Rosa Parks and look at all the Black women who've made

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significant contributions - Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Lee Ingram, and we could go on and on - I think Black women have participated far more consistently than white women in the struggle against the oppression which prevails in this country. Recently (meaning in the last 50 years), there has been a calculated attempt to ideologically transform that equality into the notion that Black women stripped Black men of their dignity and of their manhood. When you compare the kind of equality that did prevail in the Black community to what exists in the white community, then it might appear that because the Black woman has been far stronger and more active, Black women dominate Black men. Therefore, I think that one of the things that we have to do today, as Black women, is expose those myths and to expose the falsity of all of these notions of Black matriarchs, emasculating Black females...

ELAINE: Black Amazons...

ANGELA: This myth is an attempt to destroy the potential unity and potential revolutionary force that Black men and Black women can unleash, struggling together.

ELAINE: Let me ask a few more questions, changing the subject. Are you now giving your support to any particular Black political candidate in the upcoming national elections?

ANGELA: I think that Black political candidates are important, because they reflect the stage that the Black mass movement has reached. The fact that we have now a Ron Dellums in the Congress who campaigned with the defense of the Black Panther Party as part of his platform, at the time when the Black Panther Party was



"...historically there has been a greater degree of equality between Black women and Black men... look at ROSA PARKS... Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Lee Ingram, and we could go on and on..."

subject to all of the wrath of the repressive apparatus in the country, that was a real achievement. In the presidential elections, I am giving my support to a member of my Party - the Communist Party - Jarvis Tyner, who is running for the office of vice-president. He is running together with Gus Hall, the General Secretary of the Party, who is our presidential candidate this year.

ELAINE: Many people have denounced the Chinese Communist Party as revisionist because they accepted Richard Nixon into China; whereas many other people have denounced Richard Nixon as being liberal, too liberal in foreign policy, particularly, due to his request to visit China, as opposed to having received an invitation. However, since Nixon is now in China and both of those things have come together in some sense, what are your opinions in regard to this entire matter: particularly, what do you think about Nixon's real intentions and what do you think of the Chinese People's reception of him and so forth?

ANGELA: Well, I think the most important aspect of Nixon's visit to China has been revealed to us by our struggling sisters and brothers in Indochina. The Vietnamese have stated that what Nixon is attempting to do, by scheduling this trip to China at this time, is to deflect the attention which would ordinarily be focused on what's happening in Indochina right now; and, to attempt to stifle the anti-war movement, by persuading the people in this country that he's changing his policy with regard to Asia. He has said over and over that the war in Vietnam is winding down, but we know that just because you take a few troops out and replace them with bombers and all kinds of technological warfare, this doesn't mean the war is winding down. I think that the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam and the North Vietnamese have correctly analyzed Nixon's trip to China, as an effort to sabotage the efforts of people all over to end the war in Vietnam, by confusing them. It would be hard for me at this point to make any firm statement about the reception of Nixon in China, simply because I've only read a few articles in a newspaper here and there. (I couldn't even get a subscription to a newspaper when I was in jail; so, those came few and far between.) I would say that it's clear that there are a number of changes which are now occurring in the People's Republic of China. What these changes are and what the direction of China is going to be, the political direction, I can't really say.

ELAINE: Since we are speaking of changes, let me introduce another idea. As you know, people have recently said, and especially the press has said, that there has been a split in the Black Panther Party, into two factions. We do not recognize what they describe as a split at all. We recognize that Eldridge Cleaver, the former Minister of Information, defected from the Black Panther Party, last year. Some people began, however, because of bourgeois press information, to take sides, so to speak, as to whether or not they were talking about the Eldridge Cleaver "faction" or the Huey Newton "faction", what have you. I think that at this point it would be important for your views to be known on this issue.

ANGELA: I think that quite a few months ago, Huey said something to the effect that the correct resolution of contradictions can lead an organization, a movement to a higher level, to a higher stage. As he stated, the contradictions which existed were not between Eldridge Cleaver as an in-

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"The recent development of the Black Panther Party has evinced a very profound attempt to seek out new means of involving the community, new methods of bringing the community, the Black community onto the continuum of Black Liberation and Revolution."

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dividual and, say, Huey as an individual, and Bobby and David and you and Ericka and so forth and so on, but between the politics that Eldridge Cleaver propounded and the politics that is now represented by the Black Panther Party. I think that in its broad contours, that contradiction was correctly resolved. I imagine that that's what is meant by "the defection of Eldridge Cleaver". It is a question of how you relate to Black people in building a mass movement. This is the basic difference, in my own opinion, between the politics that Eldridge Cleaver put forward and the politics that the Black Panther Party now propounds. That basic difference has to do with the way in which you build a revolution.

Eldridge said, of course, that the way in which you build a revolution is by telling Black people to pick up arms. It's very unclear what Black people are supposed to do with arms, once they pick them up.

Now, the correct political direction of any revolution, as I see it, has to be based on reaching people and involving people, because any successful and authentic revolution is always going to have to express the needs of the majority of the people. The recent development of the Black Panther Party has evinced a very profound attempt to seek out new means of involving the community, new methods of bringing the community, the Black community onto the continuum of Black Liberation and Revolution.

There is one comment that I would like to make about Eldridge Cleaver, something that I've said on many occasions. I've often been asked why I didn't flee this country. Eldridge, I think you might almost say, is a fatality of the movement; he is a victim of the repression that the ruling circles have meted out to us, in forcing him into exile, in the way in which they did. They cut him off from any further development. They cut him off from Black people. They cut him off from the movement here. And, he was no longer able to see what the concrete conditions of our people in this country are. His vision was completely distorted. They virtually accomplished the same thing as they would have, had they arrested him, because they destroyed him as a leader of Black people in this country.

I think we have to recognize that the Black Liberation Movement has gone through a number of stages over the last decade. We've talked a great deal about these changes this evening. Stages in the Movement can always be progressive, even where they sometimes appear to be preventing the Movement from developing further. For instance, Black people who, from the very beginning, recognized the fallacy of nationalism as an ideology (because nationalism isn't an ideology) saw the Black Power Movement as being a regressive movement in revolutionary development. In actuality, however, it became a progressive stage, in the sense that we learned that, first of all, we had to develop a greater unity among ourselves. As Black people we had to assert our ability to lead not only our people but to lead white people in revolutionary struggle; and no longer be led by them. Finally, we transcended the nationalist era of the Black liberation struggle, and were able to take the productive elements of that era and integrate them into something more progressive, and something more effective at this era. Eldridge couldn't see that and his development was completely arrested. When it was arrested, it became distorted, and he began to talk a lot of nonsense.

NOTE: Last week, we promised that Comrade Angela Davis would speak about Comrade George Jackson, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party. Due to legal technicalities and the length of that section of the conversation, we were unable to carry Angela's discussion on the contribution of George Jackson to the struggle to liberate all mankind. This in-depth discussion will appear in a future issue of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

HARLEM FOUR'S LIVES STILL PENDING

ATTORNEY CONRAD LYNN DESCRIBES LEGAL TRICKS USED TO ILLEGALLY HOLD BROTHERS FOR 8 YEARS.

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decision in this case has yet to be reached. After the last hung jury, a bail for each of the brothers was set at $75,000. On March 8th, 1972, the judge will announce whether the case is to be dismissed or new trial proceedings to be started.

In a recent interview, Brother Lynn related a little about the long ordeal that has brought the case to this point. In that interview, he described how the State worked so hard to keep the brothers out of touch with anyone outside, that not even one picture has been taken of any of them since their original arrest: "Back in 1964, they (the police) took mug shots of them and these were the only pictures released to the press or to any other source. Then, they forbade them from having any other pictures taken. Nobody could take any pictures: their mothers, their counsel, no newspaper men; in court, out of court, or in jail. No pictures were permitted taken. Now we believe that violates the fundamental rights of our clients under the 14th Amendment, because the 14th Amendment says that each person is entitled to the equal protection of the law. Now if they were wealthy, they could make the $75,000 bail that they're on; then they could get out and they would have their pictures



"... I think the judge should be removed from the bench, and I don't mind saying that. He was so unfair to those four defendants."

taken when they were out on bail. They would have their pictures in the newspapers. Their pictures would look much better than these mug shots of 'criminals' they had when they were 16 or 17 years old, after they were arrested, because it is true that a person who has a mug shot in a prison looks like a 'criminal' if you put his picture in the paper; whereas, if he's out of jail, then he doesn't look like a 'criminal' when he appears in a newspaper. So there is a basic distinction between a man who has money and a man who has no money. A man who has no money cannot get the privilege of having a picture, giving a fair representation of himself to the public. That's just one thing."

In regard to a question concerning the various ways the defendants' rights had been violated, Brother Lynn said: "...There were many, many errors at the trial. They were not just errors; in my opinion they were deliberately defiant breaking of the law by the judge. Now, for example, there were two letters written by Barbara Wright. Barbara Wright was supposed to have been in the drugstore next to Mrs. Sugar's clothing store - Mrs. Margaret Sugar, the woman the defendants were supposed to have murdered - at the very time that the murder happened. She and her sister were supposed to have run out and seen the defendants running by. So, they were used as the principal witnesses. We received letters that Barbara Wright wrote in that same month to her girl friend; and those letters indicated that she was in a home for girls up in the Bronx (New York).

"Now we know that under the law, the judge should have let us insert those letters as evidence, because it would show she wasn't there. She said in the letter, written April 19th (and remember the murder happened April 29th), she said in the letter, 'I hope to get out of here by summer.' Then, in the second letter (which was not written until that December), she said to the girl, 'They won't let me out of here!' This is the same girl. She is writing from the same place! Now, that is some evidence that she wasn't in that drugstore. She was up in that home where she couldn't come from. I asked her on the witness stand, 'Were you permitted to leave the place where you were ?' And she said, 'No'. Now the judge refused to present those letters as evidence. He would not let us show those letters to the jury. Now I think that was a terrible injustice to these brothers. They had a right to have anything she had written put in evidence, to show that she wasn't telling the truth on the witness stand; because if she had been in

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HARLEM FOUR'S LIVES STILL PENDING

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there all the time from April 19th down to December 19th, she couldn't have been in that drugstore at the April 29th incident. But the judge barred that. As a matter of fact, the judge instructed to hold me in contempt of court, because I insisted on telling the jury those letters existed. He had told me not to tell the jury. He not only barred us from putting these letters in evidence, he didn't want us to even mention that there were any such letters written. And I insisted on telling the jury that. But, someone else pointed out that I was the only Black lawyer there and I was the only one he was holding in contempt of court. So he just lifted the order of contempt, because he didn't want to be charged with racial prejudice.

"Things like this happened all through the trial. Always, the judge decided any issue against the defendants. Every issue, no matter what it was, he always decided against the defendants. So we knew that the state was determined to have a conviction.

"One other thing happened, which I talked about on Channel 13 (a local station in New York), was that the judge, on the day we were supposed to have the hearing for bail... the judge would not let the defendants, the four Brothers, come up into the courtroom. Now he had them down in a little tiny cell, one flight below, in a little tiny cell about 8' by 10'. They had to spend the entire day there, while their case was being determined, their fate was being determined, and they couldn't come in. We consider that a most insulting violation of their rights. That was treating them like animals. The law does provide that when a defendant, when the question of his bail or his release is being considered, he is supposed to be in court. He might not even agree with some of the things we say. He has a right to tell his lawyer, 'I don't want you to say that'; or, he might want you to add something. He has a right to consult with his lawyer during the argument of his case. But, the judge refused to let them up there. Now I think the judge should be removed from the bench, and I don't mind saying that. He was so unfair to those four defendants. It was like he was handling a case of slaves. In the years when they tried slaves, it is true that they didn't let the slaves into the room when they were trying the case; but that was BEFORE the Civil War. This man did what they used to do in the slave period, in the slave period in 1790 and 1800's. The Black people, when they tried them, they wouldn't let them in the courtroom. And that's what the judge did. I'll say he did it deliberately; and that judge should be removed from the bench ..."

After eight years of unjust imprisonment and three hung juries, the Harlem Four are returning to court on March 8th, to see if the absurd charges against them will finally be dismissed. Eight years of these Brothers' lives have been cruelly snatched away from them, for an act they did not commit. For those same eight years, there has been the great suffering borne by their respective families. Brother Conrad Lynn, in coming to the Harlem Four's defense, has found that not only has he had to combat the prosecuting attorney in the case, but also a racist judge bent on a conviction,



We are punished by the State for defending little children.

in addition to sensationalist lies on the part of the reactionary press. However, it is because of the dedicated work of people like Conrad Lynn that on March 8th the bitter struggle that has been waged in the courtroom may culminate in relative freedom for the Harlem Four, release to the streets. This cannot be known. What is known is that eventually the power of the people will manifest itself in freedom for all political prisoners throughout this decadent society.

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MARCH 31, 1972	San Pablo Park 2800 Park St. (at Oregon) BERKELEY, CALIF.	(12:00 P.M.)



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CUT HERE



PEOPLE'S PETITION

FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.

WE THE PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, IN THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM, DO HEREBY REDRESS OUR GRIEVANCE AND PETITION THE COURTS OF AMERICA AND THE CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT AND PAROLE BOARD: THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE RELEASED FROM HIS PRISON INCARCERATION IN THE CALIFORNIA PENAL SYSTEM TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITIES ON PAROLE OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND.

BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, POLITICAL PRISONER AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS IN FACT WRONGFULLY CONVICTED ON FALSE CHARGES BY A PREDOMINATELY WHITE RACIST JURY, AS ALL MEMBERS OF THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ELIMINATED FROM THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS IN HIS TRIAL.

IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THE UNDERSIGNED, THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, THAT IS, PAROLE FROM PRISON OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND BY THE AMERICAN COURTS PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE BEFORE HIGHER COURTS, AND THAT HIS RETRIAL JURY BE OF HIS PEERS, A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF A CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

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